

ADOLESCENCE

Latham made repeated references to totemic or tribal initiations, but he gave no details, and it is hard to tell whether he was dealing with a custom that once prevailed or with a hypothesis.²² Certainly, no practice currently exists that in any way resembles a formal recognition of adulthood. The transition from boyhood to manhood is completely unmarked and gradual and is accomplished as a boy assumes more and more adult tasks and begins to engage in sexual relations.

In the past an adolescent boy was given a pair of severe tests to show his all-round development. At the age of eleven or twelve he was mounted on horseback and sent alone for a visit of several days at the house of a friendly chief. The latter spent much time with him, conversed with and questioned him on a variety of topics, and took mental note of his deportment and replies. Soon after the lad's return home, the chief secretly gave his father a full and critical evaluation of the boy's behavior. About five years later, a youth was expected to give a public demonstration of his oratorical ability and the power of his memory.²³

Girls, too, are said formerly to have been subjected to an initiation on reaching puberty, and there is a likelihood that the custom persists in areas near the Cordilleras,²⁴ but in the region in which I worked no mention of such a trait was made. The beginning of a girl's menstrual cycle receives no public mention. On the contrary, unmarried women keep their periods secret from all but their mothers, and wives from all but their husbands. It is even said that women wear no protective pads, although they may place an extra mat in bed, because lack of privacy in a *ruka* would betray their condition. Garments or bedclothes that absorb the discharge are promptly laundered with exceptional care. Unwillingness to reveal the menarche, to resort to menstrual huts, or to wear protective pads, stems

²² Latham, 1924, p. 467, *et passim*.

²³ Housse, 1939, pp. 261 ff.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

842 times they were disapproved, to judge from a somewhat vague reference in House (1939, p. 249).

868 Education.—Two poles 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long attached horizontally and parallel about 1 foot (30 cm.) apart to four upright stakes about 2 feet (0.5 m.) high were used as a device to help the infant learn to walk (Claude Joseph, 1933-34, p. 714). As means of physical hardening, boys had to sleep and eat outside the hut, to bathe daily from infancy, to abstain from meat, fish, and salt, and to eat chiefly grain and "light" foods; their legs and feet were scarified to help them run swiftly. (Rosales, 1877-78, 1:118, 167; Manquilef, 1914, pp. 263-64; Gusinde, 1916-17, pp. 205-13.) They were early trained to arms, swimming, and horsemanship. They were rarely chastised, lest they should grow up base and cowardly, and they were praised for insolence. They accompanied their fathers to drinking feasts, and the latter were well pleased with their sons' drinking and amours thereat (Olivares, 1864, p. 61).

861 In more recent times at least, beginning with his 7th year, a boy was given counsel and instruction every evening by his grandfather; at the age of about 11 he had to make a formal visit to the cacique to give proof of his knowledge of etiquette; and at the age of 16 to give a demonstration of his oratorical ability (Claude Joseph, 1933-34, pp. 1055-56). Stories with a moral were used to educate children (House, 1939, pp. 267-78). In recent times too, ground *Datura stramonium* seeds were fed to disobedient and incorrigible children to mildly narcotize them, in which state they were then lectured (Gusinde, 1936, p. 855).

•[881] No puberty rites or observances proper are reported for either boys or girls. (Cf., however, *infra*, Argentine *Araucanians*, p. 757.)

761 Death and burial.—If we may take our sources literally, death in all cases, even from accident or old age, was attributed to other than natural causes, viz., to sorcery or to evil spirits excepting only death from wounds. Suicide occurred but was not common: Bascuñan (1863, p. 70) mentions warriors captured by Spaniards, and Moesbach (1936, p. 241) girls forced to marry against their wills, as having sometimes resorted to it.

762 The rites and observances connected with death and mourning were complex and differed somewhat according to period, to region, and to rank, status, sex, and age of the deceased. The chief ones, not all of them carried out in all cases, were the following: Repeated ceremonial wailing; tearing out of hair by females, and sometimes (Bascuñan, 1863, p. 187) rending of clothing; circling the corpse afoot or on horseback with great clamor (the awn, or awün rite) to honor the deceased, and also, it appears, to drive away evil spirits and to prevent sorcerers from capturing for evil purposes the soul of the deceased; calling in the shaman to discover, through examination of

bing their bodies to cleanse (D'Orbigny, 1835-47, 2:235; Cox, 1863, 177 p. 174). Tobacco smoking was largely a secular practice, at least after the early 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1835-47, 2:241); the smoke was often swallowed so as to produce intoxication (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 149-50; Cox, 1863, p. 82; Mansilla, 1877, 2:46; cf. Falkner, 1935, p. 91), a custom, however, not entirely unknown among the Chilean Araucanians (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 280).

Some camps seen by Moreno (1879, p. 11) contained each about 10 large toldos occupied by relatives and allies of the principal headman of the group. The "caciques" listed by De las Casas (1836-37, 5:95-101) had each from 6 to 30 warriors, in one case 60, under them. 621 622

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz (1836, p. 58), the names of children, both boys and girls, consisted of the name of the father (the name of his "casa," gotten from birth) plus an adjectival one bestowed by the child's "padrino." Among Cox's *Pehuenche*, according to his somewhat confused and obscure account (1863, pp. 142-43); personal names consisted of two words—one of them, apparently a kuga name, such as "lake," "river," "tiger," etc.—but the names of fathers and sons had nothing in common. A married woman was never called by her proper name, although an unmarried girl might be so called but not by a stranger. 551

According to Guinnard (1864, pp. 130-33), to be born with more than five fingers or toes was an omen of great good fortune for the whole family. Deformed infants were killed by breaking their bones or suffocating them, and their bodies were exposed some distance off to the wild dogs and birds of prey. Infants were placed in a ladderlike cradle (cf. also Nordenskiöld, 1931 b, p. 79); for croup they were given, as an emetic, a mixture of putrefied urine, a kind of "alkali," and gunpowder. 826 847 854

Three or four types of first menses rites are reported among the Argentine Araucanians. 881 ●

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz, when the first menses occurred, the girl notified her mother, who at once segregated her in a corner of the toldo with the injunction not to lift her eyes to look upon any man. The next day the girl was taken out twice, once at early dawn and again at sunset, by two of the women and made to run swiftly a long distance. Early the third day, they made her go out and gather three bundles of firewood and place them in three separate spots. Then all the Indians were invited to the celebration of the girl's new status. (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 62; the accounts by D'Orbigny, 1835-47, 2:247-48; and Barbará, 1879, pp. 175-76, and 1930, p. 39, were taken from De la Cruz.)

In the rite described by Cox (1863, pp. 159-60) for the "*Pehuenche*" north of the upper Limay, the girl notified her mother or nearest kin, who in turn notified the head of the family, who then chose his best

• 881 mare to be eaten at the feast. The girl was placed in the rear of the toldo, where she received visits of congratulation from all the "indios" and "indias" of the camp. To each of these she gave a piece of mare's meat, according to their rank and degree of kinship. Then, seated on a mantle, she was carried through the camp, and a little earth mixed with blood was put in her mouth. There was no bath, so Cox was told.

The first menses rite as recorded by Moreno (1879, p. 13) among the "*Pehuenche*" of the Collon-Curá, near the volcano of Quetro-Pillan in the Lake Nahuelhuapi region, included a 3-day dance around a damajuana by day—with five dancers performing to the beating of a drum made of a plate covered with painted skin—and a bonfire at night.

At the rite—apparently *Araucanian*, to judge from the linguistic cues, although it was celebrated for the daughter of a "Pampa" man—which was witnessed by La Vaulx (1897-98, pp. 95-96; more detailed in 1901, pp. 218-30) near the site of present-day Colonia Sarmiento, a special tent was erected; the men, women, and children went around it singing to drive away bad luck and to ask supernatural favors; the girl was then installed in a sort of altar in a corner of the tent and kept there 3 days out of sight under the surveillance of four old women; horses and cattle were gotten for the feast; two fires were lighted before the special tent, and the men, with ostrich feathers in their hair, danced four at a time to the beat of the drum; the old women then took the place of the men dancers, and leaped in the fire.

The rite recorded by Claude Joseph (1933-34, pp. 1061-63) as practiced by *Araucanians* in the Andean Cordillera included the erection of a low domed hut for the girl, short rations for her for 4 days, trials of skill by the women, fast running by the girl, carrying the girl around seated on a board, and a final banquet of mare's flesh.

Some of the elements in the above rites strongly suggest *Tehuelche* or other trans-Andean influence. But other of the elements, such as the race at dawn and sunset and the fetching of firewood—paralleled in the Oregon, northern Californian, and Southwest regions of North America—are not recorded elsewhere in South America, to the present writer's knowledge, and are very hard to account for in view of the consistent silence of our sources regarding first menses rites among the Chilean *Araucanians*.

764 Among the *Pehuenche* of Antuco, a corpse was taken out of the toldo feet first, lest the deceased return (Poeppig, 1835-36, 1:393).

771 Argentine *Araucanian* theism (see supra, p. 742) and shamanism (cf. De la Cruz, 1836, pp. 38, 48, 53; Poeppig, 1835-36, 1:394-96; Barabará, 1879, pp. 165-69; Milanese, 1898, pp. 43-44) differ, so far as they are recorded, only in minor details from *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Non-*Araucanian* influences in the religious terminology of the Argentine *Araucanians* can be seen in the use of the names "Soy-Chú" for

867 she returned the box of pins was on her desk and the boy was out playing games.

867 Anyone stealing food when greatly in need of it is not reported for
685 punishment; but anyone caught selling a stolen article or animal is reported. An old man said that one of his paternal aunts—one who had adopted him—told him, when he was 15 years old, and his cousin, who was 20 years old, to steal a sheep. The aunt had married a man from another area, and since he was not a local man he had no right to land where they now lived, and consequently the family was poor. The informant believed the family from whom the sheep was stolen knew it, "but they never made us pay for the sheep."

787 Not all fathers teach sons to drink to excess, but none corrects a son if he becomes intoxicated. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher:
273 "I had often heard that Mapuche fathers obliged their sons to drink
276 to excess, but I hoped it was not true. One time when girls were telling me that their fathers taught their brothers to drink to excess, they
828 pointed at a boy and said, 'That boy there has been drunk twice.' To which the boy responded, 'Yes, but my father made me drink.' " Whether fathers at present use this as the basis for a personality prediction test was not ascertained. That boys were so tested formerly when under the intoxicating influence of the seeds of miyaiya (not identified) was learned from Huenun in 1952 while checking with him, in Chile, information collected in Argentina. Quoting Huenun: "One of my relatives tested his sons that way when they were small, and the forecast of their characters came true. The boy must not know that he is being tested. On a day he is given the seeds of miyaiya with toasted wheat or barley. I do not know whether the miyaiya is toasted also. But he is given this as his meal. This makes him drunk. His parents observe him in this state to see what he will do. If he picks up things around the place, they know that he will turn out to be a thief. If he acts toward other children as though he were going to fight them, he will be a fighter. If he tries to get near girls, he will be a lover. If he wants to drink everything in the place, he will be a drunkard. If he pretends to be playing the guitar, he will be a musician. Formerly nearly all parents tried to discover the character of each son. It was not so with girls; but a girl could have been subjected to the test, too, in order to learn what her character would turn out to be."

ABSENCE OF PUBERTY RITES, MODESTY

- 831 The Araucanians have no puberty rite, either for boys or for girls; nor is there a prepuberty fast. Cognizance, however, is taken of

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Cognizance, however, is taken of
 puberty: a prepuberty boy is spoken of as "a growing-up boy" and is addressed as "little man"; after his voice has changed, he is addressed as "young man" (*weche wentru*) and is spoken of as "single man" or "unmarried man." A girl before her first menstruation is spoken of as "a growing-up girl" and is addressed as "little woman"; after first menstruation as "young woman" (*üllche*) and also as "unmarried woman" or "single woman" (*fücha pora*). Only an occasional mother instructs a daughter regarding first menstruation and motherhood; in instances an older sister of the girl has been known to do so. Quoting Araucanian women: "We do nothing for a girl when she is that way for the first time. Since the mother has said nothing to her girl about it, the girl gets frightened and does not tell anyone; a girl is ashamed to tell about it. I know a girl who was so frightened that she did not get sick again for two years. If the mother takes notice that the girl no longer gets her monthly, she gives her a tea of *culantrillo*, *chukuri*, and *parra sylvestre*; or if a girl is old enough and has not yet taken sick, her mother gives her tea of *kudün amun* [unidentified]." Quoting a woman in her eighties: "I know that the Mapuche mothers did not instruct their daughters. Now that I am getting old, I have often told young mothers to tell their 14- and 15-year-old girls about it. When a girl does not know what has happened to her, she worries and dries up inside. It was a Chilean girl who told me about it when I was young; I had worried much. She said all women had it; when I knew that, I stopped worrying."

There are no taboos regarding eating off dishes used by a menstruating woman; nor is it believed that men's clothing will be contaminated if left in her presence.

Children by themselves and among themselves are modest. Their presence at births—those of brothers and sisters only—however, would hardly meet the standards of modesty set for children of our culture. The only schoolchildren who had not been present at a birth were the youngest in the family, who therefore had had no opportunity of being present, or those who were too young to remember when a younger brother or sister had been born. When they were questioned, it was noted that children younger than 11 years promptly stood up to signify that they had witnessed a birth—the youngest child in the room, a 5-year-old boy, was the first to rise—but several of the boys and girls 14 and 15 years old seemed embarrassed; they delayed standing up, and then did so reluctantly. One boy pointed at his cousin and said, "He should get up, too; I know he was there." The boy then rose. Schoolchildren—girls more often than boys—had also been present at *machitum*, ceremonies performed over nude adult sick persons. Five had attended one in 1946.

834 In general children were modest. When visitors stayed all night,
 574 their children and those of the family had to sleep close together—
 513 "we all slept on the floor, and there was not much room in most
 houses." Each child, and each adult, as well, rolled himself up in a rug
 or blanket, "or whatever they gave us to roll up in," and lay down on
 the floor alongside of each other. "We must have looked like loaves of
 bread in an Argentine bread pan. But never did we think of even so
 much as touching one another."

864 Neither boys nor girls were given sex instructions. Speaking of
 sex matters was practically taboo. "We would not talk about it; it
 was too delicate. Things were very strict formerly. A girl 20 years
 old knew nothing about sex; today very young girls know everything
 they should not know. Formerly, if a young man touched a girl, like
 putting his hand on hers or holding hers, his father had to make a
 payment in animals to the girl's father." In rare instances, however,
 a mother or a grandmother told the girl the purpose of menstruation.

● 881 The boy's change of voice was taken notice of—"his voice becomes
 thicker and higher and stronger, and people say of him, 'He is now
 growing up to be a man,' " but there was no puberty rite, nor was a
 boy at puberty isolated. An occasional family held a feast. "But it
 was not a custom to do so," said an 85-year-old man; "there were some
 people who gave a feast on many occasions, and such people probably
 gave one on this occasion also."

The two institutional performances, however, namely, the katan
 kawifi and the personality test, described above, might be performed
 for a boy at puberty. Also, a son who had been so tested when he was
 very young might be retested at puberty to see what changes, if any,
 had occurred. The katan kawifi, resembling the katawe in that the
 skin on the back of the hand was pierced (cf. p. 272), was, on
 this occasion, performed by a cacique if it were done at a gathering of
 the people. However, instead of injecting pure urine into the opening
 of the skin, as was done at the katawe, urine mixed with salt and
 blood of a strong animal, such as the sparrow hawk (nshem or fishem,
 cernicalo) or the puma, was injected. Fresh urine, of either a young
 boy or girl, had to be used. Occasionally horse grease was also
 pushed under the skin through the piercing. The purpose of the katan
 kawifi was to make of the boys successful fishermen and hunters.
 Occasionally, the katan kawifi was performed on older men for the
 same purpose; it was never performed on girls or women. Someone
 might threaten a lazy preadolescent girl with it; because of fear of
 it she would then do her weaving or other assigned work.

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A girl at first menses, but not at any subsequent one, was isolated for several days in the toldo, usually in a corner behind some hangings. The mother prepared the girl for the event, but only in rare instances explained its purpose. Following isolation, invited relatives partook of a plentiful meal at which the girl was present. Quoting a woman in her sixties: "My mother took me aside one day and said, 'Now you are of an age when you will get a certain sickness.' I was about 13 or 14 years old then. She did not tell me what the sickness was, and since I did not know what it was, I could not speak to her about it. One day, later than that, she said to me, 'You look pale and sad and are upset. Bring me the white blanket.' She laid it on the floor in a corner, away from the fireplace, and then hung a hide on a rope that was stretched cornerwise [about 5 feet high] to make that corner a private place. Since the hide did not shut off the entire corner, she sent me to get a blanket which she slung over the remainder of the rope. The corner was now completely shut off. She told me to sleep on the white blanket that night. I did so. The next morning she examined the blanket and found it soiled. She said, 'Now you are grown up. Do not be ashamed of it. It is something every girl gets, and every woman has. When you are much older, it will go away again. While you have it you must be careful not to wash your hair or feet; if you do, it will make you sick. However, you can comb your hair, but do not touch your hair when doing so; it may fall out if you do. You must stay here in the corner so no one will disturb you.' My mother came behind the hangings and sat with me and talked, but no one else did so. Nothing would have happened if someone else had, but only a mother does so—that is our custom. While the girl was in the corner, the others in the family went about their work as usual; they were all glad that all was well with the girl. The girl was given only light foods to eat. I was given a little fried meat—we usually ate meat raw—cooked cereal, and catute well mixed with water. I did no work. I merely waited. I sat on the white blanket or lay on it for four days. When my mother noticed I was well, I went to bathe. The danger in washing my head and feet was now passed. I wore my silver ornaments, for relatives that had been invited to a feast were arriving. Such a girl is congratulated. Everyone knows that she has stood it well. After the feast the girl goes about her work again."

Quoting another woman in her sixties: "I spun while I was back of the hangings. When it was over with, my parents gave a meal to which acquaintances were invited, at which they drank chicha and music, and sang songs for the occasion. My father and my mother

881 then gave me some nice clothes. I was 15 years old then. No, I was not given any herbal decoctions." Several informants spoke of a girl's voice changing about the time of her first menses.

841 There were no taboos regarding the use of dishes by menstruating women. "No one ever used anyone else's dishes at any time; everyone in the family had his own plate or bowl, and spoon. And each one knew his own, because his mark was engraved on his own, such as a bird or a tree, or some such mark." She continued, "My mother was right: it ended before I was 50 years old. I had my last child when I was 44. Soon after that I had irregular periods, ~~lost~~ spells, was dizzy always, my teeth ached; but all this ended too."

Of a menstruating woman it is said, "She experiences the moon." Of a woman past menopause it is said, "She no longer experiences the moon."

ADULT BEHAVIOR

CARE OF THE HAIR, BATHING, PERSONAL ADORNMENTS,
PERSONAL APPEARANCE

302 A low hairline, an Araucanian trait, was not desired; neither was facial hair. Ashes, "any ashes from the fireplace," were rubbed on a boy's face to keep him from having facial hair. A considerable growth of hair on the forehead was removed by smearing either dough or flour mixed with water, or a paste of blood and ashes, over the forehead, letting it dry, and then rubbing it back and forth, thus pulling out the hair—a process called "cleaning the forehead" (liftun-tol). If there were only single hairs, they were jerked out with the fingers, or with a finger and the help of an implement, like a stone. Baldness [145] occurred when a man reached 100 or more years of age. "My father was 130 years old; so old that he lost all his hair."

515 The hair is washed when bathing. A lather of leaves of chacay [824] is used in place of soap, as formerly, especially by those who cannot afford soap. If a luster is desired, the hair, when dry, is saturated with several-days-old urine, an act called küllaitun. Bathing is done in creeks, rivers, or lakes. Many persons bathe daily.

302 A hairbrush was made from the roots of "a plant that grows on trees." The roots were wound about with narrow strips of bark to form a handle; the other ends of the plant were used in brushing. Such a brush in the collections of Parque Nacional de Lanín (specimen No. 77) is 14 inches long and 6 inches in circumference at brush end.

301 Formerly, every adult person wore silver ornaments. These were earrings, necklaces, bracelets, rings, and studdings on belts. Women

833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements, 864 it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

831 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court-
[836] ship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual
[584] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after
[512] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous. A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a
[595] wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani-
[831] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their
[561] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the delib-
eration of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

● 881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions
864 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge
[831] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under
[831] the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual desire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is
[836] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

835 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-